

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

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FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 825
INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CONFIDENTIAL SOFIA 0351

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, PFOR, US, BU
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS -- BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

REF: A) STATE 37591; B) STATE 299422; C) SOFIA 2059 SEPT 75
PARA 11; D) SOFIA 1799 AUG 75; E) STATE A-7654; F) SOFIA
1732 AUG 76, PARAS 4 AND 5.

1. WE UNDERSTAND THERE IS A CERTAIN INEVITABLE BUREAUCRATIZED
QUALITY ABOUT QUESTIONNAIRES SUCH AS THOSE IN REF A; AND SINCE
WE TAKE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES WITH RESPECT TO MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS
VERY SERIOUSLY WILL RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO ANSWER SIMPLY
(A) THAT BULGARIA FOLLOWS THE LEAD OF THE USSR ON ALL MULTI-
LATERAL MATTERS; (B) SAME AS ABOVE; (C) LIAISON WITH USSR DELE-
GATIONS IS APT TO BE MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN KEEPING IN TOUCH
WITH HOME OFFICE; (D) NO; (E) NO.

N

2. ACTUALLY, WE CAN DO USEFUL WORK HERE IN MULTILATERAL
MATTERS, BUT THE ISSUES HAVE TO BE CHOSEN VERY CAREFULLY. ONE
RECENT EXAMPLE OF SUCCESSFUL DIPLOMATIC ACTION WAS OUR
HEADING OFF AN ILL-CONSIDERED, UNCOORDINATED BULGARIAN
INITIATIVE IN ICNAF (REF B). AN EXAMPLE WHERE LARGE
EXPENDITURE OF DIPLOMATIC CAPITAL WOULD NOT BE PRO-
DUCTIVE IN BULGARIA IS PUERTO RICO. SIGNIFICANTLY
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PRESIDENT ZHIVKOV VOLUNTEERED TO DEPUTY SECRETARY INGER-

SOLL LAST SEPTEMBER THAT THE BEST BULGARIA COULD DO FOR US ON THAT ISSUE IS TO KEEP ITS MOUTH SHUT (WHILE VOTING, AS IT ALWAYS DOES, WITH THE USSR). SEE REF C.

3. EVEN ON SUCH AN UNPROMISING ISSUE AS PUERTO RICO, HOWEVER, WE CAN J A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF MISSIONARY WORK AT AN APPROPRIATELY HIGH LEVEL, PARTLY IN HOPE OF HAVING ITS RESULTS FELT IN THE INTERNAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES; BUT WE CAN DO THIS ONLY IF WE HAVE REALLY EXCELLENT AND PERSUASIVE DOCUMENTATION. WE SUGGESTED PREPARATION OF SUCH DOCUMENTATION IN REF D. WHAT WE RECEIVED (REF E) WAS NOT REALLY ADEQUATE. THE DANGER OF BUREAUCRATIZING WHAT HAS TO BE AN IMAGINATIVE EFFORT AT PERSUASIVE DIPLOMACY WAS ESPECIALLY EVIDENT IN THAT LATTER DOCUMENT.

4. IN SHORT, WE WILL DO OUR BEST, BUT GOOD STRATEGY HERE REQUIRES THAT WE NOT PUSH TO THE MAXIMUM ON EVERY FRONT, EVEN WHEN ISSUES ARE IMPORTANT TO US. IF WE DO THAT OUR DIPLOMATIC CURRENCY WILL BE DEPRECIATED AND WE WILL LOSE EVERYWHERE. TARGETS HAVE TO BE SELECTED VERY CAREFULLY. BULGARIA IS ONE OF THE MOST UNPROMISING PROSPECTS TO MOVE BY JAWBONING ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES SINCE IT INVARIABLY VOTES WITH THE USSR. YET WE DO NOT SAY THAT ALL OUR EFFORTS HAVE TO BE CONCENTRATED IN MOSCOW TO OBTAIN RESULTS IN SOFIA (OR FROM THE BULGARIANS IN NEW YORK). ONLY, WE MUST BE SURE, AS POINTED OUT REF F, TO PUSH AT LEAST RPT AT LEAST AS HARD IN MOSCOW AS WE ARE PUSHING HERE. OTHERWISE WE WILL NOT EVEN BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

5. WE ARE NOT APPOINTING A MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS OFFICER. AT A POST OF OUR SIZE, WITH THE KIND OF POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH WE OPERATE, THIS WOULD MAKE NO SENSE. WE WILL DIVIDE THE WORK, AS BEFORE, BETWEEN THE AMBASSADOR, THE DCM, AND THE CHIEF OF OUR POLITICO-ECONOMIC SECTION.

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